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Title: Mentoring serial and high-risk perpetrators of intimate partner violence in the community: Engagement and initiating change

Short Title: Mentoring high-risk perpetrators of IPV

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Abstract

Background: Mentoring has typically been used with young offenders. A pilot mentoring project has been introduced in the UK for high-risk intimate partner violence (IPV) offenders.

Aims: The aim of the study was to evaluate how serial and high risk IPV males identified as prolific offenders and intervention-resistant through Multi Agency Risk Assessment Conferences, engaged with mentoring and how change was initiated for this population.

Methods: Interviews were conducted with two Mentors, six Mentees and four Support Workers and file notes for 16 Mentees were examined. Thematic Analysis was employed to analyse the data.

Results: The global theme, *Tools and Techniques that Facilitate Engagement* comprised two organising themes, *Building Relationships* and *Tenacity of the Mentor*, which explained how engagement was initiated and driven. *Catalysts to Initiate Change* with its two organising themes *Hooks*, and *Focus on the Future* captured factors that act as potential turning points or triggers for the Mentees to address their use of IPV and start the process of change.

Conclusions: Mentoring is an innovative and alternative approach for engaging intervention-resistant serial and high-risk IPV perpetrators, enabling them to identify their need to change and laying down the foundation that could facilitate this change.

Keywords: Intimate partner violence; Mentoring; High-Risk Perpetrators; Engagement; Facilitating Change

Introduction

Theories of intimate partner violence (IPV) offer different frameworks for explaining IPV e.g., feminist theory (Dobash and Dobash, 1977) and power theory (Straus, 1977). Psychological theories of IPV focus on explaining various individual risk factors that increase the likelihood of IPV occurring e.g., psychopathology and personality (Dutton, 2006); anger/hostility (Baron et al., 2007); and substance abuse (Fals-Stewart, 2003). The extent to which dominant intervention approaches reflect on psychological theories is contentious, with emphasis placed on understanding power and control and gender socialisation (Babcock et al., 2004, Whitaker et al., 2006). Interventions for IPV male perpetrators are typically group-based psycho-educational models offered to those who evidence motivation to change, typically excluding high-risk, difficult to engage perpetrators (Howells and Day, 2002). Mentoring is an innovative approach to engaging high-risk male IPV perpetrators in a conversation about change.

Of all criminal justice interventions, mentoring remains the least well developed both in theoretical terms and the empirical base that supports its use (Brown and Ross, 2010). Although no universal definition of mentoring exists, some agreed defining features include: one-to-one relationships freely entered in to and based on trust; typically involving a volunteer to act as a positive role model; and designed to support another individual over a period of time to achieve a goal (Hucklesby, 2008). In the context of Criminal Justice, Nellis (2002) defines mentoring as ‘someone more experienced, guiding, coaching or encouraging someone less experienced in the performance of a task (or role)’ (p. 94). Mentoring aims to reduce offending (DuBois et al., 2002; Jolliffe and Farrington, 2007), offer indirect support (including help with specific problems, improving offenders’ skills and reducing opportunity for offending to occur) (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2007); provide

someone to talk to who takes an active interest by offering support day-to-day to help establish an element of structure in offender's lives (Brown and Ross, 2010).

Mentoring also facilitates monitoring offenders' movements, reminding them of the issues and consequences of not complying and reporting problematic or worrying behaviours to any multidisciplinary team member involved with particular offenders (Hucklesby and Wincupp, 2014). Consequently, in relation to high-risk IPV perpetrators this is not a typical group-based rehabilitation programme, but an individualised holistic intervention combining practical support and problem solving with challenging individuals about their behaviours and attitudes in relation to IPV.

Reviews (DuBois et al., 2011; Eby et al., 2008; Jolliffe and Farrington, 2008; Tolan et al., 2013) have found modest effects of mentoring on youth re-offending and positive improvements on psychological, social, educational and delinquency outcomes. Some broadly positive results emerged from an evaluation of seven adult resettlement Pathfinders in the UK (Lewis et al., 2007). This included mentoring by adult ex-prisoner volunteers in two projects. Some positive results were reported which related to mentoring specifically, although no direct effect on reconviction rates was found. At pre-release, the most highly reported benefits of the programmes where mentoring was a component were 'confidence and peace of mind' (24%), and 'someone to talk to' (17%). Anticipating release, 'someone to talk to' (28%) was the equal most important type of help along with assistance regarding employment and education. Lewis et al. (2007) also found offenders who had post-release contact with mentors did significantly better than any other groups analysed, in relation to attitudes to crime and social and personal difficulties. This led to the conclusion that mentoring provided opportunities to address individual needs while offering personal and emotional support.

No research to date has examined mentoring with IPV perpetrators; therefore the potential of this approach to address IPV is unknown. An evaluation of a mentoring service for serial and high-risk IPV male perpetrators that focuses on the perpetrators' engagement with the service and the facilitation of behaviour change for this population is presented.

Method

Participants

Mentees were IPV offenders recruited from a mentoring service who work with a range of clients including those deemed to be high-risk serial IPV perpetrators. Perpetrators who are referred to the service are identified as high risk at monthly meeting of Multi Agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACs). This is then brought to the Domestic Violence and Abuse (DVA) Perpetrator Case Management Forum, who decides if perpetrators are suitable for mentoring based on risk assessments and on-going discussions between the various agencies (e.g., children social care probation, recovery partnerships) involved with each individual. All of the Mentees have prolific offending histories (mean 66 recorded offences, range 17 – 204 offences) across a range of different types of offences. However, their histories include persistent offences against their partners (including common assault, harassment, malicious wounding).

Interviews were conducted with six male Mentees (aged 21-45 years), two male Mentors and four professionals who work on a DVA Perpetrator Case Management Forum in England (a multiagency partnership which decides if perpetrators are suitable for mentoring). File notes (containing offending histories and weekly narrative reports written by the Mentors) were also accessed for 16 Mentees currently

using this pilot-mentoring scheme. No Mentees were currently attending any other type of intervention for IPV.

Mentoring Scheme

All the Mentors and Mentees were from one mentoring scheme. A detailed description of this service including its aims and objectives and the background of the Mentors can be found in Table 1, in the supporting information.

Procedure

Following ethical clearance Mentors or Mentees were recruited. The two Mentors were selected as they were both working on the pilot-mentoring scheme and they recruited six Mentees who they felt represented their client group. Four professionals from the DVA Perpetrator Case Management Forum participated. The mentoring service dovetailed with the police response to IPV, and Mentees were identified as serial perpetrators and high-risk based on police intelligence. Participants were all males with an average age of 30.3 years (range 21-45 years). One-to-one interviews with Mentees were privately conducted following a semi-structured format of open questions adapted to the role of the participant. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed to capture verbatim statements. Weekly narrative reports were accessed and collated. Data were managed and organised using qualitative software *NVivo 9*.

Analysis

Thematic Analysis (TA; Attride-Stirling, 2001, Braun and Clarke, 2006) was used to develop independent themes and associated sub-themes from interview transcripts and narrative reports. Coding began with multiple readings of the data and informal note taking which generated initial codes that were developed into distinct themes. To support the themes that were generated, a balanced presentation of the interviewees' experiences and direct quotes are provided to promote trustworthiness and

verifiability of the data (Murphy and Meyer, 1994, Silverman, 2000). For reliability and validity (Shenton, 2004), a second independent researcher cross-checked coding strategies and interpretation of data and a consensus was reached on the final themes and the meanings attached to them.

Results and Discussion

[Insert Figure 1 here]

Figure 1 describes all themes developed to represent the facilitation of engagement and initiation of change in high-risk IPV male perpetrators experiencing mentoring. The figure shows that the themes developed which were identified as facilitating engagement related to the Mentor/Mentee relationship and the characteristics of the Mentor. Once engagement had been established, the catalysts to initiate the process of change included personal hooks that were meaningful to the offenders and focused on future orientated factors. The Global and basic themes and are presented in Table 2, where a small select sample of extracts from the data has been provided, however, extended and more in-depth examples of extracts from the data can be found in the supporting information.

[Insert Table 2 here]

Tools and Techniques to Facilitate Engagement

This Global theme encapsulates the ways and means that engagement of the Mentees was facilitated. The elements that make up this Global theme and examples of extracts from the data can be found in the supporting information.

Building Relationships

For Mentees to engage, a relationship needed to be created with their Mentor. This was not a friendship but a working relationship or alliance that enabled the Mentee to acknowledge and address/deal with his use of violence. A working alliance describes

a therapist's and client's meaningful and collaborative work towards therapeutic change (Kozar, 2010). Part of the process of building a relationship relates to the creation of a bond that is necessary when developing a working alliance. Two elements were necessary to build this bond: (i) *Effective Communication*; and (iii) *Preferring One-to-One*.

Effective Communication

By its very nature, the Mentor-Mentee relationship is not equally balanced as the Mentor holds greater power than the Mentee. As communication is integral to the Mentor-Mentee relationship, the ability to communicate effectively is essential. All interviewees talked about the importance of building rapport and having 'someone to talk to' which is aligned to previous research on adult mentoring with offenders (Lewis et al., 2007). However, this comes with the caveat that *Effective Communication* was only achieved by the Mentees talking to the 'right person' - identified by both Mentors and all six Mentees as another male not a female. One of the Mentees did suggest that a female might 'take the women's side' which could suggest a potential disadvantage of mentoring is the loss of the psychoeducational intervention group format which utilises a male and female facilitator to prevent any possible or perceived collusion between programme participants and facilitators. The Mentees also suggested that being able to communicate effectively was making sure that the 'wrong person' e.g., anyone involved in the Criminal Justice System was not part of those communications. That is, it had to be clear to the Mentees that the Mentors were there to help them with their behaviours and not as a means of finding out information to pass on to other professional bodies, particularly the Police i.e. mentoring was not a form of surveillance.

All the Mentees commented the way the Mentors talked to them was important for relationship building. The Mentees felt that they were addressed in a

polite and respectful manner so rapport was developed and bonds could be built. This was different from how the Mentees were usually spoken to, which reassured them that the Mentors were there to help and this facilitated engagement.

Kram (1988) identified the first stage of the mentoring process as rapport building, with the ability to establish rapport dependent on a number of factors including, alignment of values, degree of mutual respect, agreement on the purpose of the relationship and alignment of expectations (Megginson et al., 2006). It was respectful, and therefore effective communication, that enabled rapport to be built, meaning the Mentees engaged with mentoring and could work towards the next stage of the process that included goal setting and action.

Preferring One-to-One

Mentoring as a '*Preferring One-to-One*' intervention was discussed by all six Mentees. One Mentee stated he would only participate in one-to-one interactions, refusing to engage with group-work. Group work was seen, by all Mentees, as unfavourable compared to one-to-one treatment. Their previous experience of group work, they felt had no benefit.

Research comparing efficacy of group and individual treatment for IPV perpetrators is sparse. Murphy and Meis (2008) investigated individual treatment of IPV perpetrators and found that one-to-one treatment: increased client's engagement with the change process; could be adapted to the client's stage of change; could address pressing concerns (e.g. mood disorders and substance abuse issues); could focus attention on case-specific change targets; and could avoid potentially negative and antisocial peer influences that can be found in group format. It might be argued that this preference for one-to-one may be an issue in that this contradicts general guidance for perpetrator programmes where generally it is advocated they should take

a group format run with a male and female facilitator (Bowen, 2011). However, the mentoring should not be seen as a replacement for this form of intervention but a means to engage intervention-resistance males with a view to introducing them to more traditional interventions and potentially other group-formatted interventions.

Tenacity of the Mentor

Engagement was achieved through the Mentor being tenacious, although ensuring at all times this contact did not increase risk or the chance of harm to the victim. This was achieved in two ways: (i) *Persistence*; and (ii) *Involving Family*.

Persistence

It was evident that Mentors were persistent when attempting to get Mentees on-board and engaging with their mentor. Mentors acknowledged the need for persistence within their role and within reason (and based on risk), conveying that as Mentors they will ‘keep coming back.’ What was seen was that Mentors try several different approaches to contact Mentees, such as cold calling, phoning, dropping their card in, texting and joining other appointments such as with Probation. Persistence by Mentors encouraged Mentees to embrace mentoring and make it part of their day-to-day routine. This included making recurring appointments for Mentees and as such gave them a sense of stability, a routine occurrence, which meant that they knew the Mentors were not ‘going away’.

Involving Family

Mentors also showed tenacity and persistence with family members who then also engaged with the process and supported Mentees. This added another layer of tenacity and persistence. From the narratives it was clear that family members were encouraged to be a part of the process. This persistence seemed to result in getting

family members involved and supportive of the process, which in turn influenced the Mentees themselves and how they moved forward with the mentoring.

Catalysts to Initiate Change

This global theme represents how change was initiated. A description of these themes and extracts from the data that endorse these themes can be found in the supporting information.

Hooks

Hooks acted as potential catalysts used by Mentors to initiate the process of change. Research suggests for IPV perpetrators, fear of losing partners and children, and criminal justice involvement can act as turning points that facilitate a move towards non-abusive behaviours (Silvergleid and Mankowski, 2006; Walker et al., 2014). In the current study, such *Hooks* were useful for consolidating engagement and initiating change. *Hooks* needed to be meaningful to Mentees and comprised: (i) *Children*; (ii) *Employment*; and (iii) *Criminal Sanctions*.

Children

The desire for the Mentees to be a part of their children's lives was a hook to get them engaged and initiate behavioural change. Children were seen as a catalyst through the identification of the negative impact Mentees' use of violence might have on them. Silvergleid and Mankowski (2006) found that fear of losing children facilitated a movement towards non-abusive behaviours and Walker et al. (2014) identified realising your children could witness (and/or have witnessed) your violence triggered desistance from IPV. All Mentees talked about the influence of children particularly the desire to be a 'proper' father and the chance to be a part of the children's lives. The relevance of children was reiterated by all Mentees.

Employment

Evidence that Mentees wanted and needed support to find employment was found in the data and identified as a *Hook* that could initiate change. Several Mentees talked about the importance of having employment in their lives and how the thought of such an opportunity was a hook for change.

Criminal Sanctions

Another hook for change was Mentees' realisation that if they don't take up the support offered, jail was a realistic possibility. This theme seems to suggest that Mentees were driven by negative not positive reinforcement (Bandura, 1986), i.e., change was initiated in order to avoid prison and it was not necessarily motivated by desires to have violence-free relationships. While this may stop the undesirable behaviour, it needs to be carefully monitored, as should the threat reduce over time, the behaviours may return.

Focus on the Future

This organising theme is made up of two basic themes: (i) *Clear Action Points*; and (ii) *Quid Pro Quo*. The defining feature of this organising theme is future orientation or solutions. Mentees were better able to engage and change their behaviour when the focus was on what needed to be done in the future rather than what had happened in the past. Mentors looked for goals and solutions, and not problems as a way of moving forward.

Clear Action Points

This theme was primarily made up of information from the narratives. The focus is on what needs to be in place on an on-going basis and in the future. Mentors seem to use a strengths-based approach (Maruna and LeBel, 2003), which emphasises the resources that people possess, and how they can be applied to positive change (O'Connell, 2005) rather than focusing on addressing deficits (Hucklesby and

Wincupp, 2014). It was still the case that Mentors reported actively challenging pro-violence attitudes and beliefs. However, the process seen was a future-orientated goal-focused approach to working with offenders and assisting them in working positively and pro-socially towards goal attainment. This type of therapy has been found to be effective with a range of different clients including, rehabilitation of orthopaedic patients, depressed clients, recidivism in prison populations and antisocial offenders (Gingerich and Eisengart, 2000), and with IPV offenders (Lee et al., 2012). In the current study, examples such as focusing on future relationships, work opportunities and other potential treatment avenues were found.

Quid Pro Quo

Change was initiated because Mentees felt they were given opportunities that they have not previously had. However, this theme is labelled as *Quid pro Quo* because this is a give-and-take process and while predominantly the men are assisted with achieving their goals, it is contingent on Mentees engaging and agreeing to do something in return i.e., stop using IPV. Examples of these opportunities, included: help putting processes in place to access children; help finding work; getting qualifications, sorting out housing issues; and liaising with other agencies (e.g., the Courts and GPs). What was seen was that these opportunities relate to a previously discussed theme, Hooks, and some of the basics themes that represent this (Children and Employment). They suggested in reality this is a common feature of many people's lives in that give-and-take generally leads to better outcomes.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. The analysis was based on a small, limited sample i.e., could not account for people in prison. Participants were self-selected and it is not possible to gauge the nature or extent of any participant bias that might have

existed. It is likely that those who took part were those more likely to engage and be open to change. Perspectives of those who had dropped out of mentoring or refused to take part were not captured. In addition one researcher with expertise in desistance undertook all the interviews and analysis, meaning potential researcher bias might also exist. However several practices proposed by Shenton (2004; e.g., detailed memos and extensive record keeping, independent verification by independent researcher) were put in place to mitigate for potential bias.

Conclusions

Mentoring, although in its infancy in relation to IPV, seems to offer an alternative and innovative intervention approach. The current research is exploratory and needs to be extended to assess the impact of mentoring in terms of behaviour change, attitudinal change and recidivism. Mentors looked to facilitate engagement through effective communication and by offering one-to-one intervention. In addition change was initiated by identifying hooks (children, employment and criminal sanctions), and focusing on the future using a strengths-based approach. By building a working alliance, Mentors looked to address the criminogenic needs associated with Mentees' offending to make positive change through goal formation. This is aligned with emerging desistance research, which promotes that in order to increase the likelihood of cessation from offending happening, an effective relationship between practitioner and offender is crucial, as is focusing on individual needs and strengths (Rex and Hoskins, 2013).

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Figure 1: Themes developed to represent the facilitation of engagement and initiation of change in high-risk sample of IPV men

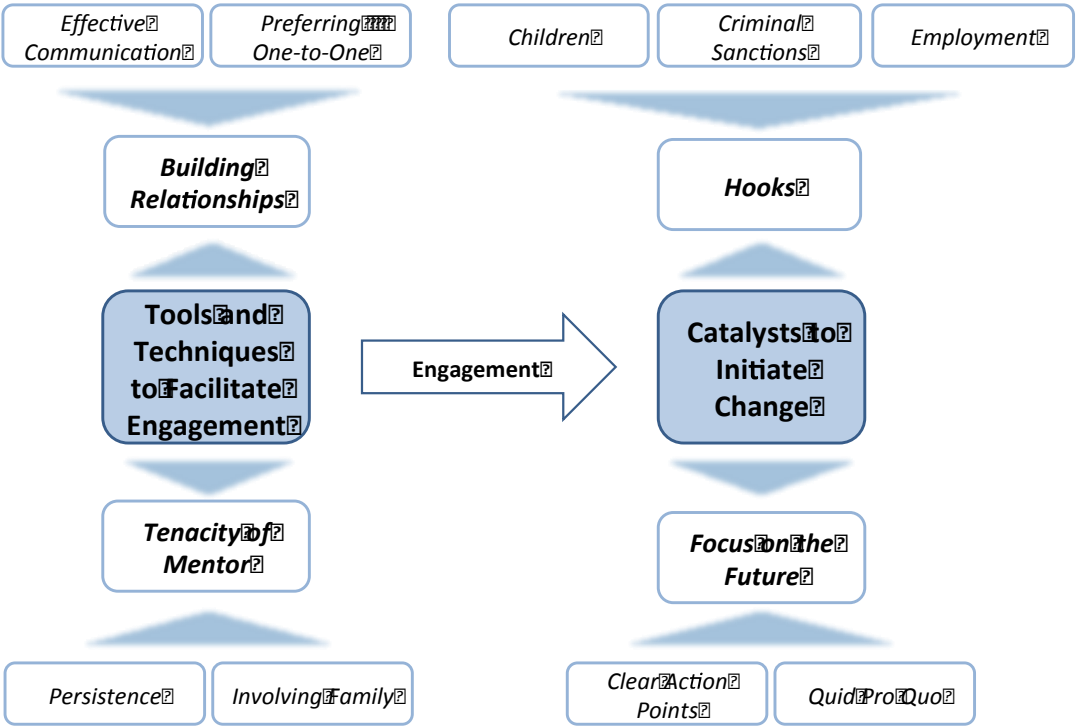


Table 2: Organising themes and their associated themes with examples of supporting evidence

		Basic Themes	Supporting Evidence from Interview Data
Organising Themes	Building Relationships	<i>Effective Communication</i>	Mentor 1: Communication is about honesty and truthfulness and that sort of honesty of dialogue.....so it it what you do is managing the conversation very early on but also reassuring them a little bit that we are not here to get any intelligence off you. We are not there to source intelligence for the police it is not our role, we are there to build rapport.
		<i>Preferring One-to-One</i>	Mentee 2: Like a group I feel like I didn't really benefit....because it was like a group I think it would have been better one-to-one working with someone....I prefer one-to-one.
	Tenacity of Mentor	<i>Persistence</i>	Mentee 6: They keep coming back and it gives me a focus and something to do. It is the routine it is also about knowing that they are coming every week.
		<i>Involving Family</i>	Mentor 1: Certainly there has been case work where I have been continually and persistently speaking to Mum's of perpetrators on at least 2 occasions and 1 still currently now where we I would argue our liaison with them is actually quite important because they're key influences in that person's behaviour.
		<i>Children</i>	Mentee 2: It's about time I grew up and that I have got kids who are about.
	Hooks	<i>Employment</i>	Mentee 2: Helping me look for work...and stuff so obviously like it was like quite good like that I liked what they were offering.
		<i>Criminal Sanctions</i>	Mentee 2: Saying like how serious like it was and once they said like going on about going to jail and it wakes you..I've got to start changing
	Focus on the Future	<i>Clear Action Points</i>	File Notes: Identify areas of focus for [<i>The Mentee</i>] to put some 'energy' into relationships and work.
		<i>Quid Pro Quo</i>	Mentee 4: The more you do for them the more they [<i>The Mentors</i>] do for you.

All the tables that follow are for the supporting information

Table 1: Overview of mentoring aims processes and typical practices

Mentoring Scheme	
Aims of Mentoring Scheme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individualised one-to-one support for those: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Presenting high risk or are at high risk ○ Deemed to be difficult to engage ○ Deemed to be in need of targeted guidance and support due to negative and damaging lifestyle choices • Delivery of high quality interventions and outcomes through adhering to several core principles: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Commitment towards building professional working relationships ○ Always working in partnership ○ Utilising up to date learning and delivery practices ○ Consistency and persistence • Enabling IPV perpetrators to make better informed decisions about their behaviour and in turn understanding how their actions and thinking affects others • Challenging through education and engagement, negative male attitudes and behaviours towards females
Principles underpinning mentoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapport building • Relationship management • Conflict resolution • Behavioural influencing • Solution and outcome focused
Mentors	<p>Core qualifications/skills of mentors include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accredited high risk mediator • Accredited Care Manager • Management and delivery of interventions for sexual and violent offenders • Conflict mediation skills • Mentoring range of high risk individuals including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ IPV perpetrators ○ Gang members ○ Young people (10-22) with emotional and behavioural difficulties ○ Sexual offenders ○ Prolific Priority Offenders <p>Training and Supervision:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supervision 1-1 undertaken monthly

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- Team tasking weekly (look at specific case issues and strategic matters)
 - All complete formal induction
 - Mentoring guidance document for all employees
 - Ongoing training across range of topics e.g., counselling skills, conflict resolution, safeguarding

Those interviewed

- Mentee 1:
 - 20 years working in the criminal justice system extensive experience mentoring high risk prolific offenders
 - Director of Mentoring Scheme
- Mentee 2:
 - 5 years of experience in working within the field of high risk mediation, mentoring and conflict management

Typical practices

Referral:

- Perpetrators are identified as high risk at monthly meeting of Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACs)
- Potential referral brought to the DVA Perpetrator Case Management Forum. The Forum decides if perpetrators are suitable for mentoring based on risk assessments and on-going discussions between the various agencies involved with each individual

Mentoring process:

- Engagement and rapport building
- Effective planning and intervention management
- Challenging and influencing
- Maintenance and monitoring

Routine practice:

- All potential Mentees contacted by cold calling at Mentees living accommodation
- Service offered is voluntary
- Generally weekly meetings initially (more if required)
- Time varies for meetings although usually about an hour
- Narratives completed after each meeting

Measuring outcomes:

- Engagement measured through attendance, attitudes (willingness to communicate, openness of dialogue) and behaviour (turning up on time, proactively organising meetings)
 - Behaviour change measured through self-report, police reports, feedback from MARAC and DVA Perpetrator Case Management Forum
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Table 3: Tools and Techniques to Facilitate Engagement: The associated themes, their description and supporting evidence

Theme	Description of Theme	Supporting Evidence from Interview Data
Organising Theme: Building Relationships	Basic Theme: <i>Effective Communication</i> Tools and techniques used to enable effective communication between Mentor/Mentee; Rapport building	Mentee 1: The mentor he's, it is easier to talk to a guy, with a woman like they always take the woman's side don't they .. I wouldn't really want to speak about it to a woman. Mentor 1: Communication is about honesty and truthfulness and that sort of honesty of dialogue.....so it it what you do is managing the conversation very early on but also reassuring them a little bit that we are not here to get any intelligence off you ..we are not there to source intelligence for the police it is not our role, we are there to build rapport. Mentee 6: I was comfortable talking to them [<i>The Mentors</i>]....they made me comfortable....Just by I suppose being themselves being open and friendly. Mentee 6: Just talking to me like a proper person...The way they speak to you they treat you like an individual rather than like treating you like a bit of scum ..they are there to help you not ridicule you. Forum Member: I think it is without doubt the skill and communication skills of those [<i>Mentors</i>] individuals concerned....from what I know of the mentoring team it would be down to their ability to communicate at a level and on a level that does not feel threatening to the individual clients concerned and very sensitively and carefully building that relationship.
	Basic Theme: <i>Preferring One-to-One</i> The preference by the Mentees to have one-to-one intervention over group intervention	Mentee 2: Like a group I feel like I didn't really benefit....because it was like a group I think it would have been better one-to-one working with someone....I prefer one-to-one. Mentee 3: I prefer the one to one because I get really like you know I don't know I get really like sweaty palms I don't like being around people I get really like nervous. You know I go all like in a shell you know and I don't like talking about certain things I mean but one on one yeah fine. Mentee 5: I don't like speaking in a group. I prefer speaking one-to-one. In one-to-one you are more able to

Organising Theme: <i>Tenacity of Mentor</i>		put your point across, they [<i>The Mentor</i>] are more able to put their point across rather than being in a group.
	Basic Theme: <i>Persistence</i>	<p>Tenacity and persistence of mentor in building and establishing mentor/mentee relationships</p> <p>Mentee 6: So a one to one basis is fine I find works for me I don't like you know airing in front of other people you know.....Discussing openly it's just like and it's hard to take them seriously cos you always get someone who messes around and if you're talking about personal information then people in that group know that information especially if you know someone in that group.</p> <p>Mentor 1: We never give up... unless there is a risk that stops us ...then we will keep turning up, be very polite but very persistent and it works.</p> <p>Mentee 6: They keep coming back and it gives me a focus and something to do. It is the routine it is also about knowing that they are coming every week.</p> <p>File Notes: [<i>The Mentee</i>] agreed to meet today but repeatedly cancelled, telling me via text that he was at the hospital. I then contacted his probation officer [****] and arranged to join their session</p> <p>Mentor 2: I tell them I will come and see you and then I will sit down with you again and I think sometimes if you are persistent it shows them that actually this guy really does want to help me he's not going anywhere then they start talking.</p>
	Basic Theme: <i>Involving Family</i>	<p>Using family support to encourage Mentee engagement</p> <p>File Notes: His Uncle [****] has been useful in terms of keeping in touch and we will persist next week.</p> <p>Mentor 1: Certainly there has been case work where I have been continually and persistently speaking to Mum's of perpetrators on at least 2 occasions and 1 still currently now where we I would argue our liaison with them is actually quite important because they're key influences in that person's behaviour.</p> <p>Mentee 6: They [<i>Mentors</i>] keep coming to my sister's to see me they have involved my sister ..I find this helpful.</p>

Table 4: Catalysts to Initiate Change: The associated themes, their description and supporting evidence

	Theme	Description of Theme	Supporting Evidence from Interview Data
Organising Theme: <i>Hooks</i>	Basic Theme: <i>Children</i>	Influence of children on changing behaviour	<p>File Notes: Equally both he and we have bought up the impact of those behaviours on his children and his older children will start to understand his violent behaviours.</p> <p>Mentee 4: I want to see my child.</p> <p>Mentee 2: It's about time I grew up and that I have got kids who are about.</p> <p>File Notes: He just wanted to not have any future children taken off him and he wanted to see [<i>his son</i>] in some way. He was clear also that he would never again commit DV and simply wanted to get on with his life, see his kids and enjoy himself.</p>
	Basic Theme: <i>Employment</i>	Desire to find employment	<p>Mentee 2: Helping me look for work...and stuff so obviously like it was like quite good like that I liked what they were offering.</p> <p>Mentee 5: He [<i>The Mentor</i>] just basically offered you know opportunities that I can't get from anywhere else such as obviously my forklift licences and work things like that.</p> <p>File Notes: [<i>The Mentee</i>] talked of his plans to work as a contract cleaner on high risk hazard sites and we talked of how we might be able to assist him in setting up his business or working to achieve it.</p>
	Basic Theme: <i>Criminal Sanctions</i>	Fear of Criminal sanctions	<p>Mentee 2: Saying like how serious like it was and once they said like going on about going to jail and it wakes you..I've got to start changing</p> <p>Mentee 3: Well I suppose cos like obviously you know when it comes to the mentors come knocking on your door you know you are close like you are really in trouble so you don't want to go out and do something that's gonna get you arrested and then you're gonna end up in more trouble so obviously you think like wow hang on I don't want to do that.</p>

<p>Basic Theme: Specified action <i>Clear Action</i> points and focus <i>Points</i></p>	<p>File Notes: [<i>The Mentee</i>] confirmed that up to this point he's managed to avoid prison however he is aware that his future conduct will have to change if he wants to continue to avoid prison life.</p> <p>File Notes: Identify areas of focus for [<i>The Mentee</i>] to put some 'energy' into relationships and work.</p> <p>File Notes: Seek work placement opportunities.</p> <p>File Notes: Seek treatment provision/support re drugs.</p> <p>Mentee 3: It has helped people like myself and everybody else who can't get work who has been to prison who has been in relationships violent relationships and have you know a lot of negative in their life you know and just giving like people that positive bit of how to create a better future and what action needs to be taken.</p>
<p>Basic Theme: Give and take: Two <i>Quid Pro Quo</i> way arrangement</p>	<p>File Notes: He asked about help in seeking accommodation and I advised him that we could assist but again that would be based around engagement and his actions – he again was happy with this.</p> <p>Mentor 1: I am a great believer that you have to give a bit to get a bit..... but there are certain non-negotiables. And one is about desistance.</p> <p>Mentee 4: The more you do for them the more they [<i>The Mentors</i>] do for you. It is the same for every situation..... I have not been breaking the law.</p> <p>Mentee 6: Just ermm to keep going on the straight and narrow. So not use offending behaviours and so in return they will help with the housing..... I am like not going out looking for earners anymore .you know.....somebody is helping me...I have got to understand that I am worth to help now.</p>